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Bringing in Gangs and Community: A Re-Evaluation of Social
Disorganization and Collective Efficacy

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

Louis Cord Tuthill

June 2012

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The people that I could acknowledge could make up an entire dissertation; no one gets through the college experience alone. First I want to acknowledge my group of friends and loved ones who saw me to the finish line. Although our fellowship had to part, they make up my stories and laughter through my college years and I keep them me. Thank you to Dan, Kyle, Kris, Rob, Catherine, Bill, John, Steph, Todd, and Lexi for being there for me; making me laugh, and supporting me at every turn.

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politics, and personnel agenda are so often are intertwined. Thank you kind sir…

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather, Robert C Martin. Throughout my life he always challenged me to do better, and opened up worlds to me that I would have never known existed. I am glad he pushed me out the door to begin this journey; I am only sad he could not be here with me to enjoy it in the end.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Bringing in Gangs and Community: A Re-Evaluation of Social
Disorganization and Collective Efficacy

by

Louis Tuthill

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Sociology
University of California, Riverside, June 2012
Dr. Robert Nash Parker, Chairperson

For the last two decades, social disorganization and collective efficacy have been two of the main tenants of criminological thinking. Although gaps in these theories have been pointed out during the past decade, these theories persisted in the criminological literature. Further, these theories have been used as the bases for models of intervention, prevention, and suppression to reduce crime and juvenile delinquency. These programs have had mixed results because they do not account for previously mentioned gaps. Thus, until we improve upon the current theory criminology will not be effective at explaining or reducing criminal behavior.

This dissertation takes attempts to take a step towards addressing these gaps, and including the implications of these gaps in the statistical analyses

presented here. These critiques include the role of the built environment and deviant places (Stark 1987); social and economic capital within poor communities (Venkatesh 2000; Patillo-McCoy 1998); and individual perceptions of public safety (Glassner 2010).

Findings in this dissertation show that these factors influence criminal behavior more than classical measures of social disorganization and structural disadvantage. Additionally, this study finds that informal groups, and illicit activities play a role in social control and supplementing the local economy.

This study suggests that more research is needed in the area of social ecology and criminal behavior which takes into account these critiques. Specifically, more research is needed on the interaction between individual perception of social space and factors occurring within that space. Additionally, more thought needs to be put into urban and community planning to address the role of deviant spaces within the urban space.

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Preface

When I was a freshman in high school, I moved from my rural home in Southern Oregon, living with my mother and stepfather, to living with my father in Chino, California. This was a very difficult transition for me.

To that point, my life had been fairly isolated. Life was a routine, getting up each morning doing farm chores before school; going to school; and coming home to more chores and homework in the evening. Every moment of my life had routine and structure.

My father, on the other hand was a single, construction worker, who divided his time pretty evenly between reading, drinking, and watching sports. I was lucky enough that my father figured out that I was not stupid, just lazy. He had me tested in math and reading which found that I was at a college level in these areas. From that point on, he forced me to read classic literature, and do advanced math, without me really understanding that I was engaged with college level material.

The world that I had moved into was a world of variety. Kids I went to school with met the pantheon of race, language, social class, and cultural. Coming from my

homogenous world learning about these various groups was an adventure. As I was new to this world, I looked for more of what made us similar than different.

My first foray into the "gang world" was on my way home from school. I watched a Latino kid, I knew because he played football, being attacked by three African American kids. I did not understand the dynamics that were unfolding, just that one against three was unfair odds. I ran across the street to help my classmate fight off his three assailants.

When we had successfully fended off the aggressors, the classmate asked me why I had helped him. For me, it was just the right thing to do. In fact, looking back, I do not think I was aware of any other option, like running away.

The kid, and his family, instantly took me in as one of their own. They had me over for dinner several times. They invited me to family events and holidays. He, his brothers, and cousins, many of whom went to my school, made certain that other kids never bullied or picked on me. Unbeknownst to me, his family was part of a multi-generational *Surenous* gang. This was my first exposure to gangs. These families, this group of people, created a

familial atmosphere for me; who participated in community events; and were involved in positive aspects of community efficacy.

It wasn't until later in life that I realized that being part of this gang, for my friend, meant a responsibility to his family. This responsibility caused him to be involved in illicit activity and violence within and around our old neighborhood. Over time, he took on the classic *Cholo* appearance slick backed hair, pressed white t-shirt, black *Dickeys* pants, and sunglasses. It was his living this life that eventually took his, execution style; bullet through the back of his head, teeth embedded in the concrete, and hands tied behind his back.

Theories of social disorganization and collective efficacy did not represent the world of my upbringing. The theories lacked insight as to the organization that occurred in these neighborhoods; the role of gangs; neighbors and extended families assisting each other with host of daily activities and responsibilities.

Additionally, as my own reality changed from being a child from a working class family, Airborne Ranger, graduate student, and now social science analyst and policy advisor for the Federal Government. I have realized, often

painfully, that my value system, norms, even basic
communication clashed with the world I currently occupy.
This was only noticed by a few people who assisted me in
navigating this new reality.

I also did not see, or experience, the social
organization, collective efficacy, or positive values often
associated with being part of the middle class. What I have
seen are individuals with similar issues and experiences
that I had seen growing up including drug use, alcoholism,
domestic violence, bad marriages, eating disorders,
protecting male honor, child abuse and neglect. The
difference is that these individuals had the economic
resources to deal with their problems and the social status
not to be arrested for them. This is what moved me to
examine the informal influences, areas of organization, and
types of collective efficacy which can be used by those
with less social and economic resources.

Since starting my position at the National Institute
of Justice in the Department of Justice, I have had the
opportunity to speak one on one with scholars in the area
of social disorganization. I spoke with Robert Sampson
regarding these ideas. Dr. Sampson told me that he did not
consider himself a gang researcher, and had not considered

their role within neighborhood context. He also felt that

the area of social disorganization theory has somewhat

stagnated. There is a need to expand the theory. Thus, I

think the jury is still out on the gang's role within the

community, and would say, as all good researchers, more

research is needed.

Introduction

Theories of social disorganization and collective efficacy have been dominant in the criminological literature for over twenty years. Both of these theories have effectively argued that structural conditions contribute to violence. In the case of social disorganization, this occurs through a lack of social resources which isolates impoverished racial minorities into urban enclaves where they lack the ability to maintain social order (Sampson and Wilson 1995). For collective efficacy, members of these same urban enclaves lack community cohesion (social networks) and a desire to take action for the "moral good" of the neighborhood, which is then an impediment to maintaining social order.

However, since the work of William J Wilson (1987; 1999), this literature has been severely lacking in a discussion of the role social class plays within urban space. Specifically, this literature fails to address how people in power make decisions that skew the distribution of resources in favor of their own ends. As such, this literature has pathologized poor, primarily minority, people, maintaining that they lack the ability to organize, parent, maintain social order, and so on. The inference

being made is that if impoverished racial minorities were to follow a white, middle class example of behavior, the social problems they face day to day would decrease. This is not to say that the social disorganization and collective efficacy literature is wrong, but that the causal mechanisms needs to be reconsidered.

The initial issue is that of the link between material capital and social capital. Social capital refers to the links between individuals that produce real world (material) outcomes, whether that be a link to "a durable network" (Bourdieu 1986) or the networks' willingness to assist one another (Putnam 2000). In either case, one's social capital will determine how much access they have to the material goods or labor power of others. As such, one's ability to influence change is limited based on their position within a particular social field. According to Bourdieu, a social field is the setting in which individuals and their various social positions are located (1986). Further, one's position within the social field is based on the rules of that field and the cultural, social, and economic capital within that field (ibid).

For example, I am an ex-Airborne Ranger who served in multiple tours of combat on a LRRP (Long Range

Reconnaissance Patrol) Team in the 82nd Airborne Division of the United States Army. I have been trained in several forms of open-hand combat, conventional weapons, and field medicine. I was awarded a Purple Heart (for being shot), a Bronze Star for Valor (for saving a man's life under extreme conditions), a Humanitarian Award, an Army Commendation Medal, and several other awards related to my tours of duty. All of this has provided me *little* social capital within the academy or in my current position in Washington DC.

Additionally, engaging in cultural practices and rules that would be exemplary in the military, in the academy are, at best, a hindrance to one's progression. However, this *vitae* is quite useful among military-oriented groups such as law enforcement, which has afforded me greater access to data and files, as such these individuals are quick to trust me.

The simple point is that social capital can only be acquired, maintained and spent within specific social fields. As in the above example, a person is unable to spend social capital earned in one field outside that field. There may be networks of these social fields across time and space, but it does not change the above assertion.

Further, when it comes to a particular social field, one's amount of congruent social capital will determine one's influence over that field. In addition, social fields may be ranked based on their influence over a particular resource. Thus, with any given particular resource there are fields which are more influential, and within those fields an elite who have the most influence.

This dissertation argues that social capital is nested within social fields, which is in turn bound by physical space. Further, the influence over the development of that physical space is limited to small elite who use their social capital to increase their material capital, using physical space as a resource. Thus, social space becomes an avenue for social mobility to occur (Venkatesh 2003). Resources, consequently, are dispersed to a limited physical area which continues to benefit these elite.

On the opposite end of the spectrum are the social and economic working and under class, whose accumulated social capital and social fields do not allow for influence over the change in physical space. This is not to say that the poor, racial minorities are isolated from society as posited by Wilson, but that they are unable to influence social change linked to their own neighborhood. Thus, the

social capital and fields that this group is able to procure lack the link to material resources as seen by the urban elite. Unlike the conclusion presented by Wilson, people working within these social fields are not so much reacting to a lack of resources and therefore creating a violent culture, but rather, have to engage in their day to day behavior without the benefit of such resources. In some instances other social fields are created in which social capital is manifested in one's ability to engage in illicit or violent activities. This is not due, however, to impulsivity or culture. Instead, such behavior is strategic and planned to maintain the social order.

Examining data from multiple sources within the city of Riverside, this dissertation will examine the link between macro, meso, and micro factors that contribute to violence and crime. First, this study will show that city resources are unequally distributed across urban space, flowing into already prosperous neighborhoods. Second, it will examine the objective-subjective link that is created in the construction of social space. The research will examine the variation of social capital across ethnicity and class, factors as they are bound by social space. Further, it will show that these measures are different

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across adult and child populations. Finally, in examining this objective-subjective link, this dissertation will examine how deviant places and the presence of violent and criminal activity influences individuals' feelings of safety and their own deviant behavior.

Theory and Literature

Social Disorganization

Neighborhood effects on criminal behavior, juvenile delinquency, and violence have dominated sociological, psychological, and criminological literature for over eighty years. In the early twentieth century this literature posited that violence and delinquency stemmed from unstable growth patterns across the city, primarily due to immigration (Park and Burgess 1925; Shaw and McKay 1969). These unstable growth patterns created areas in which had deteriorated housing, abandoned buildings and high amounts of crime (ibid). According to the theory of the time, groups in these areas were unable to regulate themselves due to the lack of a common culture--in other words these people were socially disorganized (Park and Burgess 1925).

This initial work began a slew of ethnographic and cultural research which resulted in the subculture of violence theory (see Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967), which still has a foothold in criminological literature today (Bernburg and Thorlindsson 2005; Ousey and Wilcox 2005). The subculture of violence theory posits that the

impulsivity of violence; violence as a way of life; and violence to resolve issues are points of view supported in particular cultures in society, particularly among poor African-Americans (Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). Thus, according to the theory, African-Americans are more likely to engage in violent resolution to problems as it is supported by their culture.

This argument is chiefly criticized for its focus on race and its lack of focus on structural factors (Erlanger 1974; Wilson 1987; Parker 1989). Particularly, Parker criticizes the subcultural theories in that they assume homogeneity among groups, and are a negative indictment of urban minority residents and communities, ignoring the role of institutionalized racism (1989). Wilson is particularly critical regarding the issue of structure, arguing that violence is the result of the out-sourcing of manufacturing jobs in the urban centers in the 1970's and 1980's, followed by the out-migration of middle-class whites and minorities, which left urban centers with a concentration of isolated, poor, and minority neighborhoods with individuals competing over scarce resources (Wilson 1987, 1999; Sampson and Wilson 1995). For Sampson and Wilson, in such areas, the inhabitants adapt to these harsh conditions

by focusing solely on the single goal of human survival. This creates the breakdown of common cultural values, and simple informal social controls collapse among the inhabitants, or social disorganization (ibid). Sampson and Wilson are also quick to point out that a common culture is not lacking in these neighborhoods, but that that culture is created by a reaction, or adaptation, to the structural environment rather than a function of race (Sampson and Wilson 1995; Sampson and Bean 2006).

Social disorganization theory has been heavily critiqued, and such critiques will be reviewed later. It is important to note, however, that urban ethnographic work has found flaws also in the basic tenants of social disorganization theory (Suttles 1968; Venkatesh 2000, 2003; Anderson 1999; Patillo 1999; Small 2002; 2005). These studies argue that social disorganization fails to account for the existence of complex social networks with mutual obligation and the maintenance of social order (Sampson et al 2002). These social networks produce "social capital" which becomes the *new* element in the theory of collective efficacy (see Sampson et al 1999).

Social Capital

Social Capital is defined as a social network of shared norms, values and trust that facilitates cooperation for mutual benefit (Coleman 1990; Putman 2000). For Bourdieu, this network results in the connection, not to attaining assistance, but to durable good (1989). This perceived social capital is a resource that people within a particular social field, in this case a neighborhood, can draw upon to affect particular outcomes. These arenas are separated from one another, and the goal of the individual is to acquire social capital which is valuable within that particular arena (ibid). Bourdieu states that in the modern society, there are systems of hierarchy, both economic and cultural. The economic is determined by material resources, and the cultural is determined by how much "symbolic capital" one possesses (ibid). In the case of neighborhoods, Sampson and Bean state:

> *…It is commonly argued that these neighborhoods are*
> *socially disorganized, but this raises interesting*
> *questions about how people acquire a stable habitus in*
> *such disorderly neighborhoods. What social games do*
> *neighborhood residents believe themselves to be*
> *playing, if any? Are there stable social fields*
> *in which residents compete for status and resources?*
> *…more relevant for present purposes, [Elijah] Anderson*
> *describes a pattern of violence in a Philadelphia*
> *ghetto that we reinterpret as the characteristics of a*
> *social field: organized "staging grounds," common*

understandings about who the relevant players are, a sense of the rules, and a language that describes who has more or less capital in this field…[For example,] these youth believe that skillful displays of "heart" win them status in their local peer groups. However, this nondominant cultural capital can only be "cashed in" for resources and status within a certain social field. In other social fields, like middle-class education, the performance of heart is stigmatizing. – Sampson and Bean 2006

In connection with Sampson and Bean, Putnam argues that there are two types of social capital--bridging and bonding (Putnam 2003). Bonding capital is based on networks with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation, whereas bridging capital focuses on external networks which expand the social capital available to networks or groups (2003). Putnam additionally argues that bridging capital is essential for different groups to be involved in democratic institutions and their community.

In any community then, there are several social fields in which social capital is generated. If we are to consider hierarchy, then some social fields and forms of social capital can be envisioned on dimensions of high and low within the larger urban space. Simply, some groups have more power to influence decisions about urban space than others (e.g. Rotary vs. Boy Scouts; police union vs. church group). As such, an urban elite exists which has

power over the development of social space. In this sense,
social space becomes a vehicle to facilitate or constrain
the type and amount of social capital that one acquires and
can be an avenue for social mobility to occur (Venkatesh
2003).

It is the case, then, that social capital can be a
double-edged sword (Portes 1998, 2000). According to
Portes, social capital can be used not to help a whole
community, but to benefit only a privileged few within the
community, while excluding everyone else (1998, 2000).
Thus, group definitions of people outside the group become
adversarial, "predicated upon what one is not" (ibid). If
these adversarial groups continue to come in contact with
one another, the result can produce groups that are
exclusionary and mafia-like (Portes and Landolt 1996). In
other words, the social networks that can be used to
promote a sense of community and stability, can also be
used to promote gang presence or illicit drug sales
(Patillo 1999; Venkatesh 2000).

Collective Efficacy

To this point, I have examined social disorganization theory and social capital. These two concepts are highly correlated with the model of collective efficacy as operationalized by Sampson and his colleagues (1999). Clearly, this is not to say that these are synonymous theoretical concepts, but the variables being used to discuss these concepts are similar.

Sampson's most recent definition of collective efficacy is "the working trust and shared willingness of residents to intervene in achieving social control" (Sampson 2004: 108). Sampson's model of collective efficacy includes structural resources, social networks, organizational and institutional factors, and prior violence (Sampson 2004). The measure of collective efficacy includes both social networks and one's willingness to take action, where social capital only includes social networks. Although Sampson is quick to point out this difference (1999), these measures of trust and action are compressed into one scale (ibid). Further, the questions used to address social action are individual assertion without taking culture into account. That is, an individual may not be willing to assert themselves given

the particular neighborhood's culture. Perhaps they may find a particular behavior, such as "youth hanging out in the street," normalized behavior and therefore believe it to be unnecessary to intervene; or the intervention may not necessitate an individual, but instead, a group. Nonetheless, a recent study, examining social capital and collective efficacy found a very strong correlation of .97 between these two measures (Wickes 2006). This would indicate that social action, as an additive measure, plays a very small role. So although these measures are conceptually different, they do not appear to be empirically different.

The other connection that needs to be made is Sampson's measure of structure as similar to social disorganization's measures. Social disorganization has often been measured by racial heterogeneity (Parker 2001; Krivo 2000; Martinez and Lee 2000), female-headed households (Parker and McCall 1999), poverty (Morenoff et al 2001; Parker and Pruitt 2000; Ousey 1999), unemployment (Crutchfield and Pitchford 1997), and social organizations (Swaroop and Morenoff 2006). Collective efficacy has been measured by similar variables, to include concentrated poverty (Cameron 2005), racial homogeneity (Simons et al

2005), and organizational participation (Ohmer 2006).
These measures are additionally highly correlated in
American society in which several connections can be made.
That is, several connections can be made such as minorities
tend to be disproportional poor, poor people tend to be
disproportionately without work, and so on. Essentially,
these structural measures are difficult to parcel out, and
many times are measuring the same phenomenon. The
differences between the structural measures of collective
efficacy and social disorganization thus become minute.

   As discussed earlier, the measure of collective
efficacy, empirically, contains measures of social
disorganization combined with measures of social capital.
It is also important to note that there is a positive
correlation between the level of social capital and
structural measures of social disorganization (Sampson et
al 1999; Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Sampson and Bean 2006).
Also, these measures are generally analyzed in a
multivariate regression which means individual and
structural measures are being accessed as equivalent
measures without considering the interplay between them.
Thus, what is needed is an advanced statistical model to

capture these relationships (Sampson et al 2002; Sampson 2004).

Since the measures of social capital and social disorganization are highly linked to collective efficacy, then the way we understand collective efficacy is highly linked to the way in which these two concepts play a role. That is, collective efficacy subsumes structural measures discussed in social disorganization, and social networks as discussed in social capital. Therefore, the critiques, discussion, and variance of those measures of social structures and social networks are no less valid because they have been repackaged into a different theoretical framework.

Critiques of Social Disorganization, Social Capital, and Collective Efficacy

Theoretical Critiques

There are a myriad of reasons for the variations across studies of social disorganization and collective efficacy. First, poor people are not socially isolated within their community. This is due to the social networks which exist outside of their neighborhood (Sampson 2006). This includes working for the middle class society (Small 2006), having to interact in mainstream society (Venkatesh

2003) and even shopping with the middle class (Anderson 2004). Next, scholars have found that middle and working class blacks never left the "ghetto," as postulated by Sampson and Wilson, thus middle class and working class influences on ghetto neighborhoods have never left (Duneier 1994; Patillo 1999, 2004). In fact, a recent study found that the endorsement of conventional values and norms, generally associated with the middle class, were slightly higher among disadvantaged families (Elliott et al 2006).

Studies have also shown that the cultural adaptation of the poor has allowed for organization and the maintenance of social order. For example, researchers point out that violence serves the function of maintaining social order when civil authorities are not available or trusted (Anderson 1999; Patillo 1999; Venkatesh 2003; Sampson and Bean 2006). Also, illicit organizations such as gangs, are not thought of as separate from the community, but as part of the neighborhood (Klein and Maxson 2006; Rodriguez 2001). These groups provide protection to the neighborhood from outside criminal elements (Patillo 1999); contribute to neighborhood organization and provide to a local, albeit illicit, economy (Venkatesh 2006; Venkatesh and Murphy 2006); and

even engage in city politics and can provide the catalyst for social change (Brothers and Barrios 2004).

Although the most recent definition of collective efficacy is "the working trust and shared willingness of residents to intervene in achieving social control" (Sampson 2004: 108), earlier discussions maintained that the individual intervenes for the "moral good" of the neighborhood, and that the presence of violence predicated a "moral bad" (Sampson et al 1999). This is not to argue that violence is a positive thing, but that it is a functional element of maintaining social order, particularly in the absence of traditionally recognized authority. According to Weber, the state has a monopoly on legitimized violence (1919). Forms of violence by the police, the military and so on are acceptable in society because they are sanctioned by the state. Collective efficacy does not make the distinction between state-sanctioned violence and other forms of violence. As a result, a neighborhood with a lot of police brutality, shootings, and so on would be considered high in collective efficacy because the violent acts are state-sanctioned. Conversely, the only violence that is bad, for collective

efficacy, is not state-sanctioned. This would include violent social movements.

Collective efficacy argues that an act to maintain social order for the common good is positive for the community. The problem is that in order for this act to be effective there would have to be either the perception of disorder or actual disorder. For example, if boys are becoming rambunctious in the street a person would only intervene if they perceived the boys' behavior to be problematic. If the boys' behavior is perceived as normal, even if it is violent, there is no reason to intervene. Nonetheless, the act of intervening assumes an *a priori* perception of, or actual, disorder. Thus, the act of intervening is to engage in a *social change* which brings order out of disorder. In some cases, violence becomes a viable option to bring about this social order.

Sampson and his colleges argue then, that those who are collectively efficacious are those who maintain social order through non-violent means or state-sanctioned violence. Groups outside of this domain would not be considered collectively efficacious. This begs the question, what about state-sanction violence that does not maintain social order, such as police harassment. In order

to establish this, we would have to determine which state-sanctioned violence had the purpose of maintaining social order. This then moves the argument into the realm of an ethical dilemma, specifically that of the deontologist versus utilitarianist arguments of ethics (see works of Kant and Bentham). That is, if the violence was intended to bring about social order, then do we discount that violence when running our analysis or, do we only discount violence that actually resulted in the creation of social order. The real point is, as "social scientists" who seek to objectively understand social processes; researchers should have their observation free of moral connotations which denotes ethnocentrism. Instead we should examine the function, role, and outcome that violence serves in a community, institution, or group.

Social disorganization and collective efficacy theories also contain a predominantly white, middle class bias. These theories assume that the poor and racial minorities are *reacting* to particular structural constraints as opposed to being proactive in overcoming obstacles of social class. In this way, this body of work pathologizes poor and minority people and neighborhoods, arguing that they lack the ability to build social

networks; take corrective action; maintain social order;

engage in good parenting; follow positive role models; and

so on. There is also research that shows that positive

social networks exist among the poor (Small 2002); that in

middle class, gated communities kids engage in deviant

behavior (Low 2003); that violence and hazing exist among

middle class youth (Gershel et al 2001); that drug use is

higher among suburban youth (Luthar and D'Avanzo 1999); and

that gangs are also prevalent in middle class suburban

communities (Korem 1995). Further, there is the idea that

in order to resolve the problems of the poor we should

provide them *middle class* models of identity, family

structure, and social groups. Thus it is case that these

theories, and the interventions that follow, argue that if

"poor people" would act in a *middle class* manner, while

lacking the same material and social resources, then they

would have social order, strong collective identity, and

less violence. Still, *middle class* families and

neighborhoods, with all these resources, still experience

similar social problems. Is this some function of

concentrated wealth that needs to be researched?

What has been severely lacking in this literature is

the other part of Wilson's argument--that social,

political, and economic policies, made by the urban elite,
have created an environment of inequality. Individuals
within poor communities are acting to overcome an
environment which lacks material resources. This may mean
having to drive farther to work; working two or more jobs;
having to leave children with family or alone after school;
and living in extended family situations. None of these
issues are found in discussions of social disorganization
or collective efficacy. These examples do not show poor
people reacting to isolation and concentrated poverty;
rather, they demonstrate individuals acting to overcome
obstacles of social class. These neighborhoods are
organized, have social networks, and contain institutions
in which people participate. Not recognizing this is to
apply a class-based ethnocentric analysis of the situation.
Thus, models and interventions of violence need to take
into consideration those resources that are currently
available and how they are being distributed across the
urban space. They need also to take into consideration
what the individual perception of violence, crime, safety,
social capital, success, is within a particular social
context. They need to examine the relationship between the
structural conditions and individual perceptions of those

structural conditions. Further, researchers need to understand how the structural conditions of the neighborhoods came into existence in the first place. The role city planners, developers, meso-economics, macro-economics, played in city development and neighborhood development are all factors which contribute to neighborhood dynamics. Finally, questions need to be shaped around linking macro structure with micro interactions. Examples of such questions might include "Does the presence of gangs in neighborhoods lower non-gang violence?"; "Do people in poor neighborhoods perceive themselves as poor?"; "Do people in high crime neighborhoods perceive themselves as unsafe?"; "How are city funds spent across neighborhoods?"; "Where are the social services located within the city and are they being used by the correct people?" Researchers need to stop "blaming the victim" and "pathologizing the poor" when it comes to issues of crime, and perhaps address the "deficits" in the individuals able to influence change within the social space; namely the elite of the urban community.

Methodological Critiques

Beyond the theoretical issues, there also exist empirical problems. First, much of the literature relies on administrative divisions such as census blocks; zip code; or Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA's) to define neighborhoods (Sampson 2004; Gannis 1998). Many researchers have questioned the validity of using such prescribed areas, to include the concept of the neighborhood" (Perkins et al 1990; Taylor 1997; Sampson et al 2002). In fact, research that compared resident-defined neighborhoods with census tract boundaries has shown that the corresponding census derived values can substantially differ from a community's self-perception (Coulton et al 2001). Census blocks were established nationwide in 1950. A block group contains about 4 to 8 blocks, and generally is the smallest unit of measurement in most neighborhood research because much of the data is removed from the census block for reasons of anonymity. A block group contains between 600 and 3,000 people, with an average of 1,500 people per group (US Census). As we move up to larger units such as census tracts, zip code, and metropolitan statistical areas (MSA), these numbers become even larger. The problem is that with each aerial unit there is a tremendous amount of internal variability which may mask or falsely support any

statistical outcome. Unfortunately for this dissertation
it is necessary to use census blocks groups as that is the
smallest unit of measurement available.

The next major problem is that neighborhoods are seen
as static places, and spatial theorizing often does not
account for the complexities of social life, nor does it
discuss how a neighborhood is created and maintained.
Certainly theories of social disorganization (Wilson 1999),
collective efficacy (Sampson et al 1999), and social
capital (Putnam 2000) have been relatively effective at
explaining why crime occurs in poor, urban neighborhoods,
yet still, these have been met with critiques by urban
ethnographers studying these spaces (Anderson 1999;
Patillo-McCoy 1999; Small 2004; Small 2006). The reason
for this gap is due to a lack of spatial thinking and the
linking of micro and macro patterns of social behavior. A
neighborhood is a dynamic, not static, place. How do we
address issues of urban renewal (Dymski 2000; Thomas et al
2006), lack of economic investment in a neighborhood
(Dymski 1999), or the militarization of the urban space
(Davis 2006)? For instance, the Project on Human
Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) Series and all
of the literature that followed, ties many phenomenon to

neighborhood effects which include disease (Wen and Christakis 2006) gun availability (Shenassa 2006), social capital in youth (Drukker 2005), health disparities (Cohen 2003), and so on. However, Chicago is unique in its spatial make-up when compared to other metropolitan areas, so can we truly generalize data from the Chicago project to other areas? Certainly, urban ethnographers and other researchers have found results which vary from Sampson's (Small 2004, Anderson 1999, Patillo-McCoy 1999).

Not only is the structure of the city an important determinant of violence but also the structure of the neighborhood. Stark argues, for example, that social disorganization gives rise to "deviant places" and not necessarily "deviant people" (Stark 1987). These "deviant places" may include parks (Jacobs 2002) and alcohol outlets (Parker 1998). Due to the type of interaction that occurs within these institutions, they may amplify deviant, criminal or violent behavior (Stark 1987). Following this argument, particular areas of a city may be zoned against the inclusion of these perceived "deviant places," which concentrates deviant behavior to poorer sections of the city.

To this point, more recent research has looked at the effects of out-migration of the middle class from urban centers to suburban and rural communities. Specifically, studies on social disorganization in rural communities have shown that similar structural factors that contribute to social disorganization in the urban centers also contribute to social disorganization in rural areas (Barnett and Mencken 2002), so one would expect to find an increase in social organization with this migration. However, studies have found that working in "farming communities" gives individuals a sense of "civic duty" which contributes to the *social organization* of the area (Chan and Elder 2001). In addition, that rural areas serve as a block against homicides (Messner et al 1999), meaning that before this influx of the middle class, these rural areas show high levels of social organization. However, this research has found that as rural communities receive an influx of the urban middle class, their inhabitants become less attached, which leads to a declining sense of community identity. The newly formed community is then less engaged in civic activities (Salamon 2003), which, according to Sampson and his colleagues, is a factor that contributes to social disorganization.

Research which looks at macro-structural factors of social disorganization within suburban populations has found a positive relationship between population and criminal behavior (Barnett and Mencken 2002). Also, in looking at violent crime in these areas, studies have found that environmental factors such as poverty, family disruption, and racial heterogeneity, had the same effect for violent crime (Barnett and Mencken 2002; Lee et al 2003), and that these environmental factors were found to be exactly the same when explaining homicide in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas (Kposowa and Breault 1993; Lee et al 2003). Thus, the population transition that contributes to social disorganization in urban spaces also contributes to the beginning of social disorganization in both rural and suburban spaces.

A final methodological issue is that weak statistical tools are being used to model very complex interactions. Most studies use simple regression or ANOVA to examine these relationships, however, advanced statistical models such as spatial analysis, have been very useful when looking at social disorganization, particularly when they discuss areas as being socially disorganized or having concentrated effects. Until recently there has been a

paucity of studies using advanced statistical techniques such as hierarchical linear modeling (Raudenbush and Bryk 1986; Avakame 1997) and spatial analysis (Baller 2001; Messner et al 1999; Morenoff and Sampson 1997; Morenoff and Sampson 2001; Suresh 2001). This has been due to the lack of data which supports examining spatial questions. Using such techniques might provide clarity in the explanation of how environmental factors influence violence and criminality. More specifically, according to Sampson and Wilson, areas of disadvantage or "areas of concentration" (Wilson 1996) are arranged in isolated enclaves (Sampson & Wilson 1995). In order to accurately model this theory, then, it is necessary to analyze patterns of violence dispersal across physical and temporal space, and determine what role the environmental factors played.

Spatial analysis further contributes to understanding violence as it allows us to place the individual or event within the context of social space. Further, the ability to link individual level data, such as survey data, to a context allows the researcher to understand the fine distinction between an objective analysis and an individual subjective perception. This becomes important when one considers that individual action is based not only upon

objective understandings, but individual perceptions of that objective reality.

Earlier studies that measure spatial autocorrelation have found that violence is spatially correlated within clusters rather than randomly distributed across an entire area (Messner et al. 1999; Morenoff 2001). Further, these studies show that violence is concentrated in high and low areas (Mencken and Barnett 1999; Messner et al. 1999) and tends not to disburse across areas (Messner et al. 1999). These instances support Sampson and Wilson's argument of "concentrated areas" and isolated neighborhoods (Sampson & Wilson 1995; Wilson 1996). However, these studies fail to examine the link between structural factors and individual perception of those factors, nor have they examined individual networks existing outside the neighborhoods. This is a deficit that my research seeks to address.

Bounded Social Capital within the City

In the United States the elite have had to restructure the urban space to meet the needs of the new service economy. This includes trying to attract particular populations that are prospering within that economy, to include the creative class (Florida 2002; 2005) and Bohemian Bourgeoisies (Brooks 2000). Within this new

American economy, cities have re-designed themselves to attract this service, computer, and financial entrepreneurship. This new social class of people is highly educated and their taste relies heavily on the bohemian culture of healthy, environmentalist, and 1960's "hippy" ideology (Brooks 2000). Thus, city service sectors have expanded to meet the needs of this new elite class with the development of new consumer outlets, including such stores as Starbucks coffee, Lowe's, and Trader Joe's. To fill positions in this new urban service economy, it is necessary to have a labor force of individuals who can fill the role of *coffee barista* at Starbucks and work the information desk at Barnes and Noble. Relationships between these middle class and these working poor recreate the class power dynamic seen in the macro structure of the city. At an organizational level, this situation is becoming far worse, with government programs that take a percentage of total available jobs and reserve them for welfare to work participants and incarcerated populations. Because the minimum wage jobs are being subsumed by these programs as a result of the tax benefits to companies who choose to participate, there is a smaller pool of available jobs for those working poor who are neither on welfare nor

incarcerated. Recently this displacement has moved into

the white collar sector, resulting in extended hours

(Frasier 2001) or a decrease in available jobs (Ehrenreich

2005). This problem has been further exacerbated by the

outsourcing of service-based jobs over the last two

decades.

All of these changes in the American economy have

changed the physical landscape of neighborhoods at a meso

level. First, many of the communities lived in by the new

elite class are regulated, gated, or planned in such a way

that interaction with the poor is minimized (Maher 2003).

Second, the advent of freeways, particularly in California,

has allowed the new elite to bypass poorer suburban

neighborhoods (Avila 1998). Thirdly, because of rising

housing prices, many of the suburban poor are forced either

further out, to live on the edge of the suburban-rural

border, or they are concentrated in particular

neighborhoods where prices are affordable. What is clear

is that residential segregation remains a feature of

American society.

The above illustrations demonstrate that social fields

are bound by the physical and the social space which is

created by the decisions of individuals who have the most

influence over that social space. This unfortunately means that individuals within the social space generally do not make decisions about how that social space will be structured. This physical and economic restructuring of the city has divided communities into enclaves that are homogeneous in social class, ideology, ethnicity, religion, education, and so on. The creation of physical barriers has also reduced interaction between groups and the possibility of building bridging social capital. Additionally, this division promotes the building of bonding social capital. As such, the structure of the urban space becomes one that avails itself of networks that support the dark side of social capital as discussed by Portes and Landolt (1996). Further, it is assumed that particular groups are allowed to participate in the larger economy of the city while others are not.

Thus, the use of social capital by these elite becomes a way to network people to material capital or resources. Those who are at the higher strata of the social capital hierarchy can have influence over where city resources such as parks, police, school funding, after-school programs, childcare, and so on are allocated. Those whose networks do not touch upon these nodes of social capital are left

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without material and social resources. This unbalanced allocation of resources is exacerbated by the growth and development of a globalized economy where these urban elites are concerned, not only for their role within their local city, but also for their role in the overall global economy. The result is an economically poor population whose social fields within which they are building social capital, is radically different from the social fields of the elite.

This is not to say that these networks that lack resources cannot organize, parent correctly, and engage in positive activity. Nor is it to say that individuals in these neighborhoods are isolated from the "mainstream" society--they are forced to engage "mainstream" society every day. However, lacking resources means that individuals, social networks, and families have to learn how to overcome obstacles of social class. These obstacles would not be as great hindrances if wealth and resources, such as city tax money, were more fairly distributed across the physical space.

Because these obstacles do exist, and because resources are not equally available to all, poorer communities develop alternative networks and means of

accomplishing their goals. Gangs, drug trafficking,

violence, and other "criminal" institutions become a type

of social organization in which individuals build social

capital that can then be spent as necessary within

underprivileged social fields. These are not impulsive,

disorganized individuals who engage in behavior loosely;

violence and criminal activity have become highly

organized. Violence itself, or one's ability to engage in

violence within a particular social field, may become a

"feather" in these individuals' cap of resources. In

addition violence becomes an alternative means of

maintaining social order (Merton 1938).

Methods

For the analysis I will use data from various sources within the city of Riverside. The city of Riverside is useful for this study due to the influx of individuals out-migrating from metropolitan cities in counties such as San Diego, Orange, and Los Angeles. This out-migration has increased the production of tract homes and retail markets that cater to this middle class. Still, Riverside is very much a "bedroom community" with many residents of the community commuting long distances to work. Such a dramatic influx of individuals has meant the city's elite are faced with making political decisions of where to focus resources.

These data will be geocoded in to map layers and I will analyze the data using spatial analysis techniques (Anselin 1995; Getis and Ord 1992; Moran 1950), to include spatial hierarchical linear modeling (Banerjee et al 2004). As discussed above, spatial analysis is uniquely situated to address the proposed research due to its ability to examine to links of data to physical place (Skinner, Matthews and Burton, 2005). The additional advantage of spatial analysis is it allows for examining neighborhoods as both defined by administrative units (census blocks) and

individual perceptions. Research in this area comparing

resident-defined neighborhoods with census tract boundaries

has shown that the corresponding census derived values

can substantially differ (Coulton et al 2001). Finally,

spatial analysis is advantageous because it will allow for

the analysis of individuals within social space. That is,

once we place the individual within social space, we can

examine the relationship between that individual, and all

individuals, within that social space and the objective,

structural measures, that we have.

Hypotheses

    In this dissertation, I have argued that bonding

social capital is a process that is initiated by city-level

officials building the physical environment in such a way

that resources are funneled to areas where they most

benefit the urban elite. The following hypotheses are

provided to examine such a relationship.

*H1a: There is a positive relationship between poor
communities and the construction of deviant places such as
alcohol outlets.*

*H1b: There is positive relationship between the
concentration of deviant places (alcohol outlets) and types
of crime.*

*H1c: There is a negative relationship between poor socially
disadvantaged communities and the frequency of police
presence.*

The next phase of the argument is that the definition of social capital varies across social groups and is bound by social space. Using spatial analysis, this dissertation will examine these varied definitions across social space. The simple argument is that among the middle class, social capital that results in material capital is more likely than in poorer communities. Additionally, poor communities have to depend more on social ties, informal social control, and informal economies than wealthy communities.

Within these communities I argue that there is a lack of trust in conventional and formal authorities, and that individuals have to engage in violent forms of social control outside the bounds of what is considered state-sanctioned violence. This tendency, combined with the lack of other formal resources, gives rise to illicit markets and gangs. The following hypotheses apply.

H2a: The more concentrated a neighborhood is with poverty, the more agents of informal social control exist (gangs).

H2b: The more concentrated a neighborhood is with poverty, the more agents of informal social control (gangs) play a role in reducing violent and criminal activity.

H2c: Neighborhoods lacking economic opportunity are more likely to have the presence of illicit drug markets

Finally, the presence of gangs and illicit markets does not impact individuals' perception of the neighborhood safety in poorer communities. Additionally, it does not change the level of collective or individual efficacy. The idea efficacy discussed above includes behaviors such as breaking up a juvenile fight and addressing the closure of a fire station. In the case of this dissertation I am using child monitoring as a level of efficacy based on neighborhood factors. The following hypothesis would apply:

H3a: Individuals' perception of safety is increased within neighborhoods lacking formal social control but having increased gang presence

H3b: Individuals' perception of safety is increased within neighborhoods lacking economic opportunity but having the presence of illicit drug markets

Additionally, this dissertation will examine the relationship between individual perceptions of poverty, crime, safety, social networks, organizational participation, and family stability and objective measures of these same factors.

Finally, this dissertation will examine the link between different structural measures, perception of those measures, and how those relate to various types of violence within and between contiguous neighborhoods. It will examine how these measures are connected in social space and if there are spillover effects where homogeneous neighborhoods are adjacent to one another.

Data

Families First

One of the chief data sources that I will be using in this study consists of three waves of a longitudinal survey examining economic stress on 278 Mexican-American and European-American families in Riverside and San Bernardino between 1998 and 2000 (Coltrane et al 2004; Parke et al 2004). The family selection occurred with the co-operation of local school districts in the area, and the families live within those school districts accordingly. Each family was selected based on having one child in the fifth grade in this district. Each family was involved in face-to-face interviews which occurred separately between the mother, the father, and the child.

City Level Data from Riverside City Council and Economic Planning Department

Data will also be drawn from the city of Riverside City Council meeting minutes and Economic Planning Departments. This data will provide examples of where city resources were allocated, and in some cases the rationale behind this allocation. This data covers the years 1998-2000 as well.

Geolytics Census Data

United States census and Economics census will be obtained through Geolytics software for the year 2000 to examine structural conditions of the city of Riverside. This will be used to examine the census blocks and block groups which will inform structural conditions of Riverside for that year. This data will also provide an indication of economic activity by block group for the city. The year 2000 will be used as a proxy for the years 1998 and 1999.

Crime Data

Crime data will be pulled from Riverside Police Data for both calls for service and arrests. This data is coded by patrol areas for the city which closely match census block group information and will be geocoded to do so.

This data will provide information on all calls for service.

Variables

Each of the demographic variables below were gathered from the 2000 census Geolytics disk.

Table 1.1				
Demographic and Crime Variables for the City of Riverside				
	Mean	Min	Max	Sd
Social Disadvantage	28.5	19.79	50.29	8.49
Residential Stability	44.69	2.74	83.80	15.08
Female Headed Household	13.90	8.55	27.01	6.18
Age of Neighborhood	35	3	61	24.18
New Business	0.10	0	13.00	10.00
Alcohol Outlet Density	.02	0	0.50	0.07
Police Presence	0.29	0	3.90	0.39
Gang Presence	0.47	0	6.45	.86

The variables below were constructed from the Family First survey

Table 1.2 Family First Data				
	Mean	Std	N	Alpha
Parent Monitoring	8.98	1.75	251	.72
Child Delinquent Behavior	1.51	1.58	251	.72
Community Cohesion	30.34	3.58	251	.95
Neighborhood Activities	28.84	5.19	251	.90
Perception of Safety	6.22	2.22	251	.98

Analysis Strategy

This paper will primarily use spatial analysis to examine these factors. Spatial analysis is very useful when looking at theories of spatial change, particularly when they discuss areas as being socially disorganized or having concentrated effects. However, most of the research which examines this phenomenon has used multiple variable regression analysis. These types of analysis regress environmental factors against all types of homicide. This is mostly due to the lack of data which supports asking spatial questions, although there has been some research that uses advanced statistical techniques in order to

explain social disorganization theory, specifically, hierarchical linear modeling (Avakame 1997) and spatial analysis (Baller 2001; Mencken and Barnett 1999; Messner, Anselin, Baller, Hawkins, Deane, and Tolnay 1999; Morenoff and Sampson 1997; Morenoff 2001; Rossmo 1997; Suresh 2001).

Recently, Krivo and Peterson have completed the daunting task of collecting data from 87 cities which they have disaggregated to the track level for 8,931 census tracks. The findings of the study indicate that striking difference economic difference across tracts due to ethnicity; higher levels of disadvantage lead to higher levels of violence regardless of ethnicity; and that the presence of predominantly tracks consisting of white residence can lower rates of crime it the neighboring tract of interest (2010).

Although this study is innovative, it has several issues. First, Krivo and Peterson do not use city block groups but tracts which constitute a higher level of aggregation. This level of aggregation can mask other factors which contribute to crime. Next, Krivo and Peterson do not take into account the individual perception

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of the space so they are unable to establish how that varies across the community, and may contribute to crime. Finally, the study does not take into account the social dynamics between the white and other ethnicity communities. For example, perhaps the decrease of crime in these neighboring communities may be the result of law enforcement increase effort to keep "criminal elements" out of white communities.

Using advanced statistical techniques however will provide clarity in the explanation of how environmental factors influence homicide. More specifically, according to Sampson and Wilson, areas of disadvantage or "areas of concentration" (Wilson 1996) are arranged in isolated enclaves (Sampson & Wilson 1995). So, to accurately model this theory it is necessary to analyze patterns of homicide dispersal across physical and temporal space, and what role the environmental factors played. This would help explain violent behavior within and between neighborhoods.

Prior studies that measure spatial autocorrelation have found that homicides are spatially correlated within clusters rather than randomly distributed across an entire area (Messner et al. 1999; Morenoff 2001). Further, these

studies show that homicides are concentrated in particular areas(Mencken and Barnett 1999; Messner et al. 1999) and tend not to disburse across areas (Messner et al. 1999). These instances support Sampson and Wilson's argument of "concentrated areas" and isolated neighborhoods (Sampson & Wilson 1995; Wilson 1996). This paper will attempt to bring these various elements together.

Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and spatial analysis are often used synonymously to describe mapping and statistical software packages, qualitative and quantitative analysis of social space, and theorizing about the use of space. GIS refers to the computer software packages capable of mapping (or geocoding), integrating, analyzing, editing, and presenting geo-referenced information. GIS and spatial analysis technologies allow users to produce meaningful, attention-grabbing maps that visually show concentrations of variables such as crime, poverty, and the institutional resources (e.g. daycare centers, after school programs, medical services, etc.) within a particular geographic area. However, these technologies are more than vehicles to create "pictures," of data; they can allow the user to link data and graphic images to a physical place (Skinner, Matthews & Burton,

2005; Matei, Ball-Rokeach & Quiu, 2001; Burrough & McDonnell, 1998). Thus, GIS and spatial analysis can integrate social, economic, environmental and individual data with geographic information to produce a detailed portrait of the ecology of risk and protection that, in turn, may influence youth development (Mason, Cheung & Walker, 2004).

One of the primary uses of this technology is mapping events across a physical space. This allows the researcher to trace trends and observe where "hot spots" are located. The two maps below show the same domestic violence calls for service by point referenced data (Figure 2) and by census track referenced data (normalized by population)(Figure 3).

There are two major types of mapped data—point referenced data and aerial referenced data. Point referenced data occur at a single geographic point such as the location of a daycare center or school whereas aerial referenced data is generally a geographic unit such as a block group, city, or county. Each has various statistical measures that can be used to examine these spatial relationships. The first map illustrates point referenced data, which we could examine in many ways. The

primary method of examining point referenced data has been to examine the level at which these points cluster together. Using a G statistic or Getis-Ord G statistic (1992), one can analyze these clusters to statistically determine the location of "hot spots." Much of this work has been used in crime mapping (Boba, 2005), police perceptions of criminal areas vs. real criminal areas (Ratcliffe, 2001) and citizen perceptions of crime (Groff, 2005). Additionally, this type of information can assist in decisions about the placement of support services or interventions. For example, Freisthler, Bruce, and Needell (2007) found that social service programs aimed at preventing child maltreatment needed to be tailored to the specific demographic characteristics of the neighborhood. These researchers geo-coded the address of each child with a substantiated report of child maltreatment in 941 neighborhoods in northern California as defined by census tracts. Using GIS software, they mapped population density, alcohol outlet density, incidents of child maltreatment, race /ethnicity of the child, and demographic factors often associated with child maltreatment. Through the use of spatial regression they were able to account for the role of these factors in adjoining, contiguous,

neighborhoods as well as the target neighborhood. The
neighborhood rates of child maltreatment were positively
related to percentage of poverty and number of   alcohol
outlets per 1,000 populations for Black children. In
contrast, percentage of female-headed households,
percentage of poverty and percentage of unemployment were
positively associated with neighborhood rates of child
abuse and neglect for Latino children. Finally, point
pattern analysis has been used in "geographic profiling," a
statistical process by which a map is produced that
estimates the likelihood of areas where the potential
offender might be hiding (Canter et al., 2000; Taylor et
al., 2002).

    The second map illustrates the rate of domestic
violent events using the same data as the first map. As in
point pattern analysis, we can examine the significant
clustering of events at the aerial level using the LISA
(Local Indicator of Spatial Autocorrelation) statistic
(Anselin, 1995). This tool permits the display of such
spatial relationships while normalizing for rates. One
could also examine things such as the proportion of alcohol
outlets to rates of juvenile delinquency and violent crimes
(Lapham, Gruenwald, Remer & Layne, 2004; Alaniz, Cartmill,

& Parker, 1998). Additionally, using spatial statistics, researchers can examine spatial relationships among these aerial units in a way similar to running linear regression, or ANOVA, to examine relationships among and across individuals. The standard statistic used to measure the statistical strength among aerial units is Moran's I (Moran 1950), a measure of spatial autocorrelation similar to Pearson's r correlation statistic for independent samples. Thus, a positive measure of spatial autocorrelation would indicate that nearby spatial units are similar and rates of events are alike. Conversely, a negative measure would indicate that rates of an event, or the number of objects, are dissimilar across spatial units. Using these statistical measures one could also measure spatial lag and spatial error.

Advantages of Spatial Analysis

The major advantage is the provision of a visual representation of the spatial distribution of neighborhood socioeconomic conditions, the availability of services and institutional resources in relation to outcomes of interest such as crime, abuse and child development. Second, it is a useful tool for mapping institutional resources and neighborhood information. For instance, Small and McDermott

(2006) used GIS technology to test Wilson's theory of social disorganization that argues that poor neighborhoods lack organizational resources for basic to day-to-day living. They found that availability of resources was contingent upon population density, the proportion of blacks and foreign-born, and the poverty rate of the neighborhood. Therefore, this spatial analysis suggests that the de-institutionalized ghetto perspective must be reevaluated as a theory of the effects of segregation and depopulation, rather than poverty concentration alone (Small & McDermott, 2006). Small and Stark (2005) used geocoded data on licensed childcare centers and neighborhood poverty level and found that the probability of presence of a childcare center does not decrease as poverty level of a neighborhood increases.

Third, these quantitative data can be linked to qualitative data that allow researchers to assess the meaning that people attach to observed activities. For example, using GIS technology, Matei, Ball-Rokeach, & Quiu (2001) examined the link between people's perceptions and fear of places where violent crime occurs and the actual rates of criminal victimization. This knowledge can guide targeted intervention and prevention programs. In this

way, spatial analysis is one of the tools that contribute to multi-method practices.

Results

    All data sets were geocoded, placing the datum within its geographic location, using ArcGIS 9.2 (ESRI 2008). Spatial analysis of polygons was run using GeoDA (Anselin 2009). Hot spot analysis was run using Clusterseer (2006). Initially these data were first geocoded using the automatic technique in GIS with default settings, and then manually geocoded (see Parker and Asencio 2008 for a more detail about this process). All datasets were geocoded with a 90 to 100 percent accuracy. Most data points not geocoded lacked sufficient information to find a point, using terms such as "parking lot" or "in the street".

    I have included with each hypothesis a visual representation of the data (map), model of analysis, and a discussion of the data.

H1a: There is a positive relationship between poor communities and the construction of deviant places such as alcohol outlets.

Map 1.1 below illustrates what was reflected in the data. In the city of Riverside, poor communities were not more likely to have deviant places such as alcohol outlets. The map shows the standard deviations of social disadvantage. The white and light green regions represent -.50 to .50 and .50 to 1.50 respectively. The range of these two colors represents 81.8 percent of people within a one standard deviation of social disadvantage. Thus the other two colors, brown and dark green, represent the approximate 9.1 percent of people experience very low and very high social disadvantage respectively.

As can be seen in the map, these areas extreme advantage and disadvantage are neighboring each other in Riverside. In fact, closer observation shows areas of high social disadvantage surrounded by areas of very low social disadvantage.

These areas of high social disadvantage are comprised of individuals working low-end service sector jobs as mentioned by Brooks and Florida (2000; 2002). It has been further theorized that one of the reasons that youth join gangs is that gangs provide a network into the informal

economy, in which people can use to supplement their

incomes (Sassen 2009; Hagedorn 2011). An additional

attraction to this "gang" network provides youth a sense of

identity and purpose (Taylor and Smith forthcoming).

In terms of deviant places, the spatial analysis

showed that alcohol outlets were evenly distributed across

space. This is due to the California state laws pertaining

to alcohol. That is, alcohol can be sold from most

establishments to include gas station, liquor store,

grocery store, and bar. Additionally there is no time

limit to when alcohol can be purchased. Thus, in

California, one can obtain alcohol anywhere, 24 hours a

day, seven days a week.

Map 1.1 Distribution of Poverty and Alcohol Outlets

< -0.50 Std. Dev.

-0.50 - 0.50 Std. Dev.

0.50 - 1.5 Std. Dev.

1.5 - 2.4 Std. Dev.
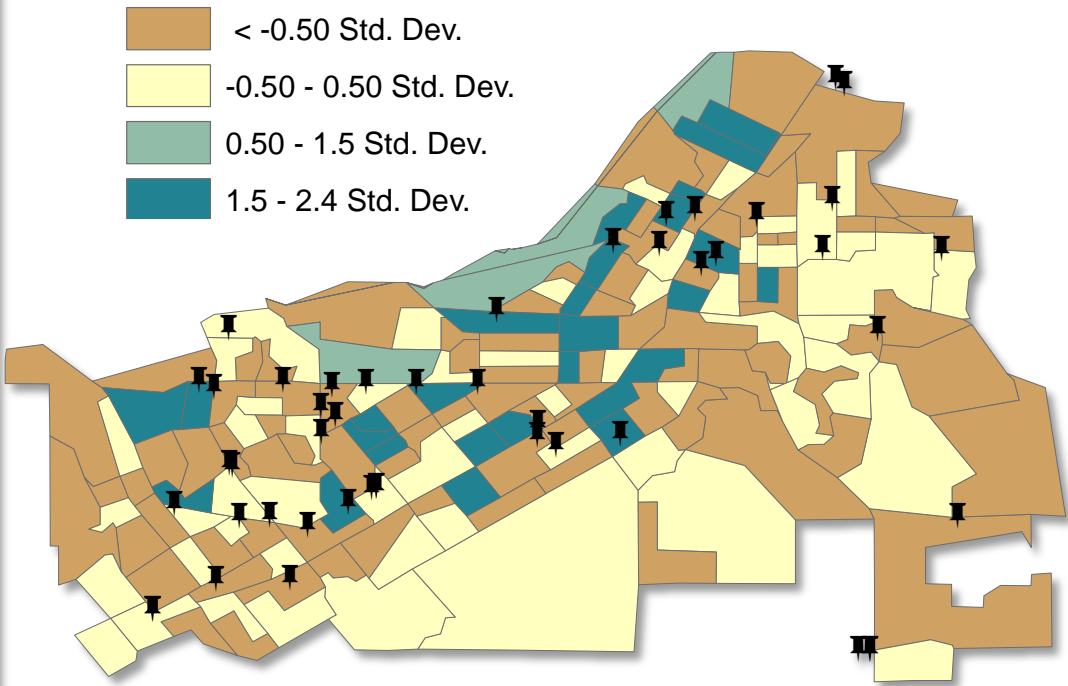
*H1b: There is positive correlation between the
concentration of deviant places (alcohol outlets) and types
of crime.*

The two Maps below Map 1.2 and Map 1.3 show a

univariate hot spot analysis of violent and drug crime

respectively at the block level. A hot spot analysis or

(Gi statistic) provides a Z score for clustering of a

particular value. Hot spot analysis has been historically

used by law enforcement to target crime and strategically

commit resources. In this instance both violent crime

(Moran's I = 0.164; p-value = .000) and drug crimes

(Moran's I = 0.149; p-value =.000) where highly clustered.

However, this type of analysis can be limited because

it does not control for other factors that might contribute

to crime. Therefore, we cannot be certain that the

clustering of crime is due to a lack of police presence, or

that the reduction of that crime is due to an increase of

police presence. Additionally, without accounting for

spatial lag we cannot be certain that crime in one

neighborhood is not conditioned upon factors occurring in a

neighboring community.

Table 1.3. OLS and Spatial Lag Model: Deviant Places on Violent Crime				
	OLS		Lag	
	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	2.69	.292	1.16	.331
Social Disadvantage	.502 **	.002	.029 ****	.001
New Businesses	.019	.076	.049	.066
New Development	-.128 ***	.000	-.119 ***	.000
Immigration	.001	.007	.004	.006
Residential Stability	-.009	.005	-.005	.004
Deviant Places	.356 ***	.161	.336 ***	.140
R-Squared	.14 ****		.33 ****	
Notes: N = 172; Lag coeff. (Rho): .530 * p <.10 ** p<.05 *** p <.01 **** p < .001				

In Table 1.3, displays the spatial analysis examining both the OLS and spatial lag effect. Both analyses support the hypothesis that deviant places have a strong impact on violent crimes within neighborhoods. The other stable factor, having a negative effect, is new housing development. Finally, when taking account the impact of deviant places in adjoining neighborhoods social disadvantage dramatically decreases.

Deviant places were not positively correlated with drug crimes. However, areas with social disadvantage did not correlate with drug crimes either as would be posited by social disorganization theory. What correlated, negatively, with drug crimes was residential stability in both models. In the spatial lag model new housing

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development was also negatively correlated with drug

crimes.

Table 1.4. OLS and Spatial Lag Model: Deviant Places on Drug Crime				
	OLS		Lag	
	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	2.13	.321	1.11	.334
Social Disadvantage	.003 ***	.002	.002 ***	.002
New Businesses	.029	.083	.057	.075
New Development	.000 ***	.000	-.094 ***	.000
Immigration	.003	.008	.006	.007
Residential Stability	-.144 **	.005	-.088 ***	.000
Deviant Places	.191	.177	1.22	.160
R-Squared	.09 **		.23 **	
Notes: N = 172 Lag Coeff (Rho) :.458 * p <.10 ** p<.05 *** p <.01 **** p < .001				

These analyses give us some insights on the social

ecology of crime. First, crime does not occur due to

socially disorganized or disadvantaged people. Crime

occurs due to the nature of the physical place. If a place

has a new development the sidewalks, street lighting, and

community green spaces are new. These newer places

generally have shopping centers, coffee shops, and so on

within easy access with streets that move people to and

from their homes to main arteries of travel (Brooks 2000).

Thus, the ability to commit crime is greatly reduced.

Additionally, individuals who live in the same

community for several years begin to recognize people who

should be in that community versus people who are new to a community. This versus a community that is always in transition and people are there for less time.

Finally, the structure of deviant places, in this case alcohol outlets, did significantly correlate to violent crime. This has been found in the literature as well (Parker 1998). City planning must take into account these types of places and the cost-benefit of where they are located.

Map 1.2 Hot Spot of Violent Crimes with Alcohol Outlets

< -2.0

-2.0 to -1.0

-1.0 to 1.0

1.0 to 2.0

> 2.0
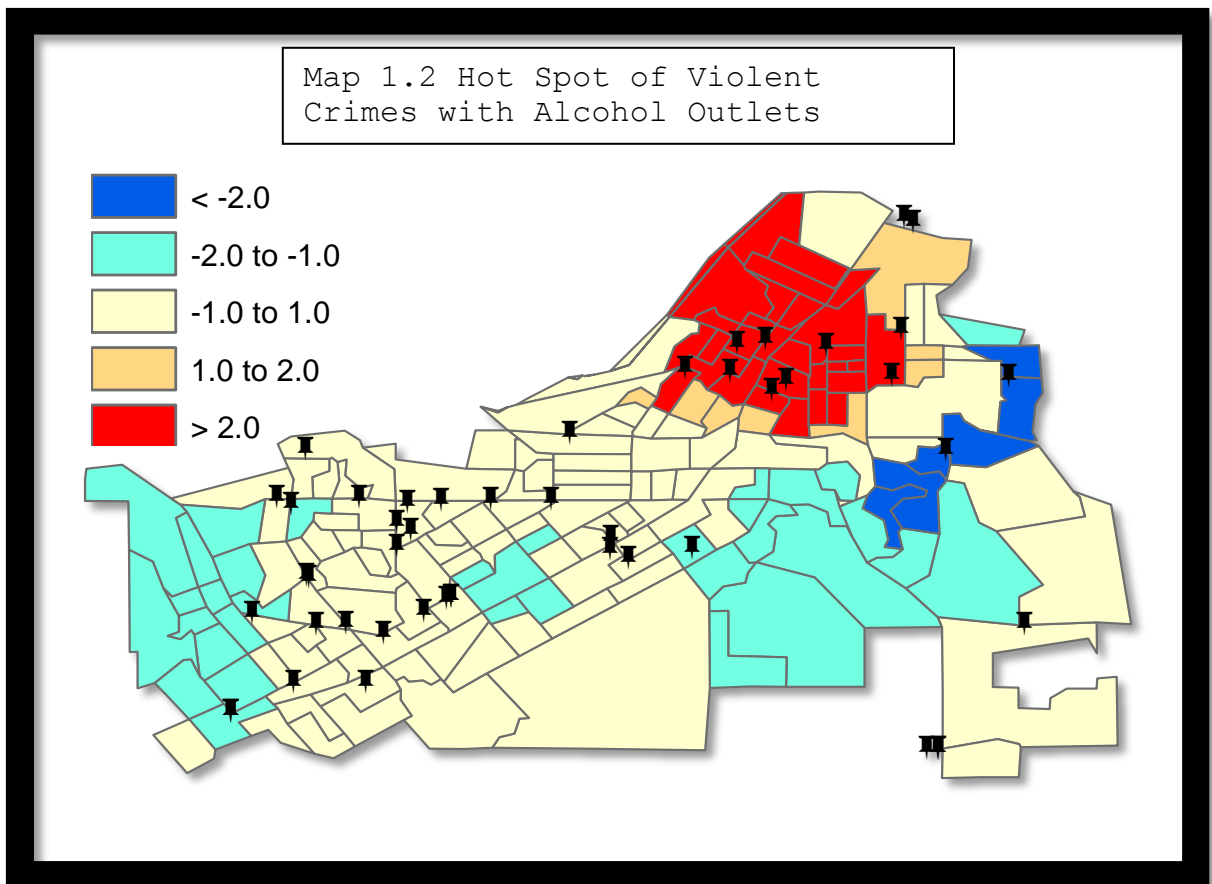
Map 1.3 Hot Spot of Drug Crimes
with Alcohol Outlets

< -2.0

-2.0 to -1.0

-1.0 to 1.0

1.0 to 2.0

> 2.0
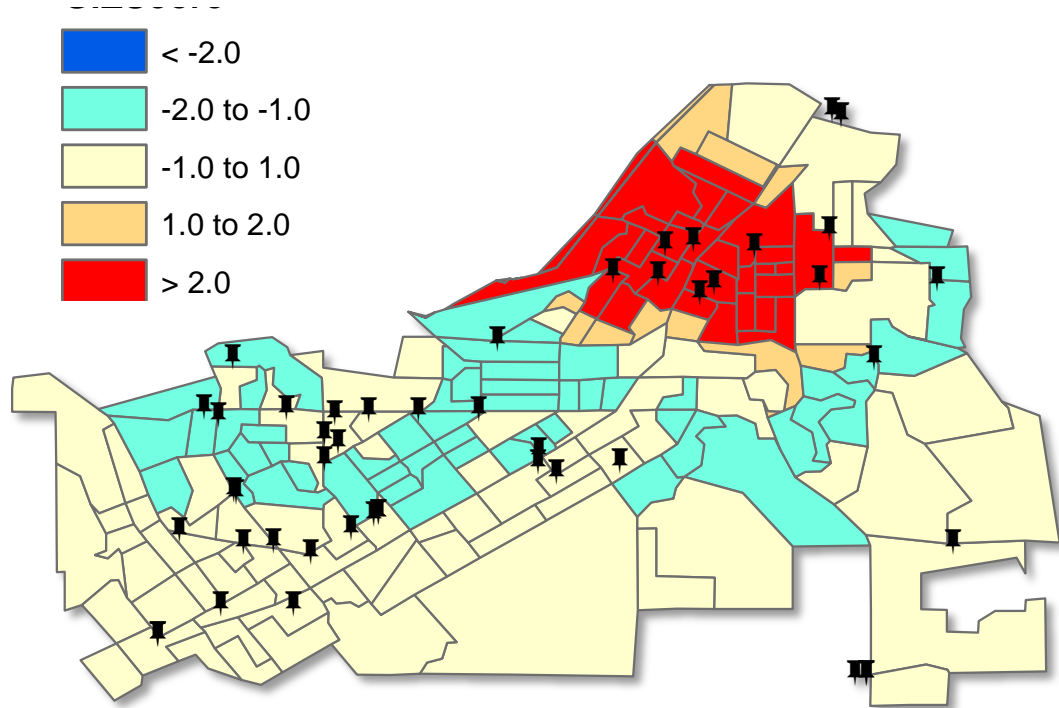
H1c: There is a negative correlation between socially disadvantaged communities and police presence.

Table 1.4. OLS and Spatial Lag Model: Poor Communities on Police Presence				
	OLS		Lag	
	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	2.69	.292	1.13	.237
Social Disadvantage	.052 **	.002	.001 ***	.001
New Businesses	.019	.075	.091 **	.042
New Development	-.013 ***	.000	-.087 ***	.000
Immigration	.002	.007	.078	.937
Residential Stability	-.093 *	.005	-.064 **	.003
Deviant Places	.356 **	.162	.274 ***	.090
R-Squared	.14 ****		.37 ****	
Notes: N = 172 lag coedd. (Rho): .441 * p <.10 ** p<.05 *** p <.01 **** p < .001				

Table 1.4 above illustrates the correlation between socially disadvantaged communities and police presence. The initial hypothesis is that socially disadvantage communities were less likely to receive police presence. The table in the OLS analysis shows that areas of social disadvantage and deviant places have a high correlation with police presence; and areas of new housing development and residential stability have a negative correlation. In the spatial lag model social disadvantage significantly decreases. New businesses and deviant places have a positive correlation with police presence; and residential stability and new housing development have are negatively correlated.

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From the earlier analysis (Table 1.4) and the current analysis demonstrate the places and reasons that police patrol a physical place. Police are more, or less, likely to patrol places based on their physical appearance and presence of crime as opposed to its level of social disadvantage.

In the case of Riverside, police presence was more likely in neighborhoods with deviant places, which were also highly correlated with violent crime. The model also shows that law enforcement is more likely to patrol places where new businesses are in the adjoining neighborhoods. The presence of business has been shown to maintain eyes on the street during times when people are not at home (Jacobs 2002). Additionally, business, such as restaurants, bars, and coffee shops, are places where people conjoin with each other. Thus, the likelihood is that these individuals are more likely places for crime to occur, and for law enforcement to be present.

Finally, residential stability and new housing development was negatively correlated with police patrols. As shown in earlier models these factors were also negatively correlated with violent and drug crimes.

H2a: The more concentrated a neighborhood is with social disadvantage, the more agents of informal social control exist (gangs).

The map below provides a hotspot analysis of the presence of gangs at the block group level. The map provides a visualization of where gangs are clustered (Moran's I = .158; p-value = .000). This provides a statistical measure of gang clustering within the city of Riverside.

In most of the multi-pronged prevention, intervention, and suppression programs to include Gang Reduction Program, Project Safe Neighborhoods, Drug Market Initiative, Boston Ceasefire, and Chicago Ceasefire. The initial step in accessing the problem and focusing resources is to identify where the problem is located. Once, this hot spot mapping is done resources are thrown into the area without consideration of other correlates to the gang presence or activity. Thus, it is unclear whether the impact of the prevention, intervention, or suppression created the shift in crime or some other secondary change.
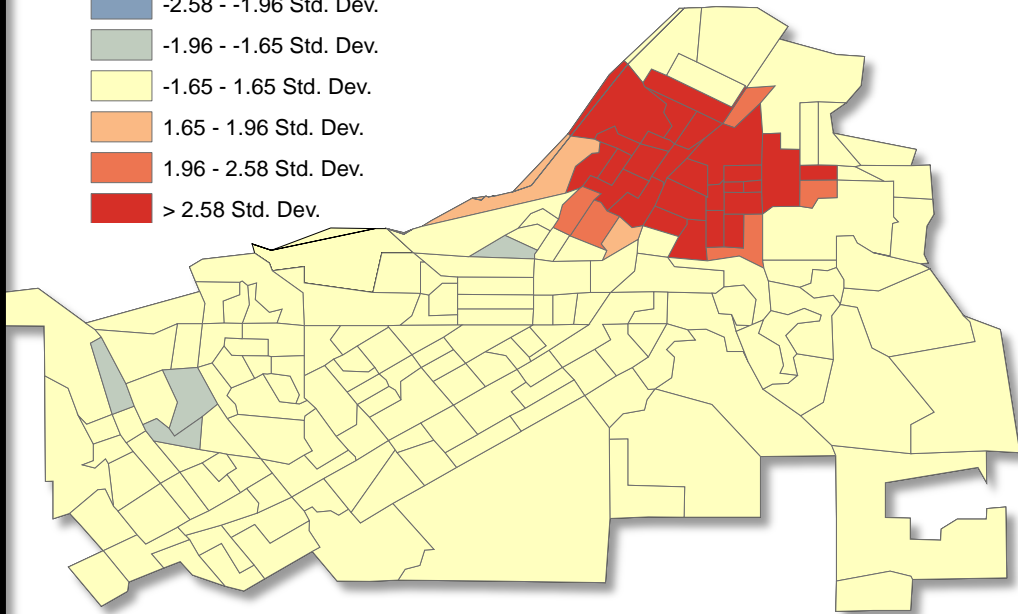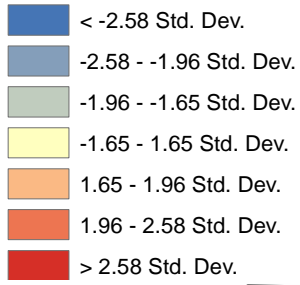
In the analysis below, Table 1.5, shows that deviant places had the strongest impact on the presence of gangs. The proposed hypothesis is incorrect. It is not socially disadvantaged places that draw gangs into the vacuum which

to fill a gap of social control. Gangs are drawn to places
which allow them to engage in deviant behavior. Conversely,
areas of residential stability reduce gang behavior.

Perhaps a stronger gang reduction program would focus
on places where gangs "hang out" and engage in business.
This could be done through code enforcement, alcohol
policies, and increasing security in these areas.

Table 1.5. OLS and Spatial Lag Model: Deviant Places on Violent Crime				
	OLS		Lag	
	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	1.74	.267	.871	.267
Social Disadvantage	.001	.002	.000	.001
New Businesses	-.036	.069	.002	.062
New Development	-.000	.000	.000	.000
Immigration	-.001	.007	.000	.006
Residential Stability	-.014 ***	.005	-.077 *	.004
Deviant Places	.310 **	.148	.276 **	.132
R-Squared	.10 ***		.25 **	
Notes: N = 172 * p <.10 ** p<.05 *** p <.01 **** p < .001				

Map 1.4 Hot Spot of Gang Residence at the Block Group Level

Legend:
- < -2.58 Std. Dev.
- -2.58 - -1.96 Std. Dev.
- -1.96 - -1.65 Std. Dev.
- -1.65 - 1.65 Std. Dev.
- 1.65 - 1.96 Std. Dev.
- 1.96 - 2.58 Std. Dev.
- > 2.58 Std. Dev.

H2b: The more concentrated a neighborhood is with social disadvantage, the more agents of informal social control (gangs) play a role in reducing violent and criminal activity.

Table 1.6. OLS and Spatial Lag Model: gang presence on non-gang Violent Crime				
	OLS		Lag	
	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	.594	.900	.391	.896
Social Disadvantage	.017 ***	.007	.017 ***	.006
New Businesses	.178	.226	.183	.220
New Development	-1.34	.001	-5.04	.001
Immigration	-0.02	.022	-.021	.021
Residential Stability	-0.007	.016	-.006	.016
Deviant Places	.388	.488	.409	.474
Gang Presence	-.078 **	.033	-.072 **	.032
R-Squared	.12 ***		.13 ***	
Notes: N = 172 * p <.10 ** p<.05 *** p <.01 **** p < .001				

Table 1.6 above supports the hypothesis that gangs provide a negative effect on non-gang violent crime. In addition, areas of social disadvantage are highly correlated with non-gang violent crime. However, the model explains very little of the variability in the dependent variable. In addition, there is little change between the OLS and Lag models. Therefore, gangs have a negative impact on non-gang violent crime but only within their neighborhoods. They do not impact violent crime outside of their communities.

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H2c: Neighborhoods lacking with the presence of economic opportunity are more likely to have the presence of illicit drug markets

Table 1.7. OLS and Spatial Lag Model: Economic Opportunity on Illicit Drug Markets				
	OLS		Lag	
	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	-3.65	1.87	-4.21	1.89
Social Disadvantage	.003	.013	.003	.013
New Businesses	.268	.473	.319	.462
New Development	.000	.003	.000	.003
Immigration	.082*	.440	.088 **	.042
Residential Stability	.030	.033	.035	.032
Deviant Places	4.12****	1.03	4.05 ****	1.00
Gang Presence	1.52****	.105	1.50 ****	.103
R-Squared	.81 ****		.82 ****	
Notes: N = 172 lag coeff (rho): .063 * p <.10 ** p<.05 *** p <.01 **** p < .001				

Table 1.7 above starts to follow a similar pattern built upon earlier analyses. Earlier analyses have shown that there is a correlation between gang presence and deviant places. These analyses have also shown a link between deviant places and drug markets. This next layer shows a link between deviant places, gang presence, and the presence of illicit drug markets.

Further the analysis shows that similar to any market, a drug market is spatially stable. Therefore the correlates of drug markets within a neighborhood do not

have an additional lag effect into neighboring communities. In short, gangs are engaged in the illicit drug trade near deviant places within a particular neighborhood. In addition, there seems to be a link between immigration and the presence of these drug markets.

So, the hypothesis, that places lacking economic opportunity encourage illicit drug markets is not shown in the analysis. What is shown, as theorized above, is that gangs provide a social network to this informal or illicit economy. Others have theorized that this illicit economy is created, to supplement one's income, in a world of service based dead end jobs (Sassen 2009). That generally this is not the market or the sole source of one's income but supplements one's income. Thus, this is not a response, necessarily, to poverty, but the need to have a particular quality of life.

H3a: Individuals perception of safety are increased within neighborhoods lacking formal social control but having increased gang presence

This paper has examined the role that social disadvantage has in crime when taking into account physical space. The second part of the argument as it pertains to individual and collective efficacy has to do with perception and behavior. My argument has been that individuals living in socially disadvantage, or socially disorganized, neighborhoods may not act on that objective reality based on their subjective perceptions and feelings. Simply, people will act based on how they interrupt their reality.

This is equally true for people living in gang ridden or violent communities. People living in violent communities may not perceive the level of violence that objectively exists. There may be several reasons for this such as not being engaged in the community; having a certain level of normative violence; or accustomed to higher levels of violence. Another reason is that they might know and precieve their neighborhood as violent generally for other but not for them as they are engaged in social networks that protect them.

In the analysis below, we see that parent's perception of personal safety was negatively influenced by community cohesion, neighborhood activities, and police presence. It would appear that the more involved people were with their community the more likely they would be to perceive the communities to be unsafe. In addition the presence of police creates a sense of fear that crime and violence are increasing in the neighborhood.

Two implications can be ascertained from these findings. First, people who are more involved with their community are more likely to know what is occurring within their community. Thus, their idea of violence and crime in the community is real. On the other hand, people who are involved in community have an inflated idea of the violence and crime in their community because they have nothing to compare it to.

To this, I would argue that increased police presence would alert individuals to something being wrong. People see police, hear sirens, see flashing lights on a consistent basis and they assume that something is wrong in their neighborhood. Their feelings of public safety decrease.

What is interesting is that areas with gangs and social disadvantage are positively correlated with ideas of public safety. Continuing with the analyses above, gangs engage in behaviors at the deviant places. Therefore, the average person may be less likely to come into contact with gang members because they are not spending time in these deviant places.

In addition, the analyses found that the presence of gang members within a neighborhood reduced non-gang violence within that neighborhood. Gangs then represent an agent of social control who reduce violence through their action and make people feel safe.

Finally, social disadvantage played a positive role in individual feelings of safety. Again, the argument is that areas of social disadvantage may have less people who have the resources to put time and money into that neighborhood. Therefore they are less likely to perceive a threat because they are not exposed to information that shows a threat.

Table 1.8. *Regression of Gang Presence on Individual Perception of Safety*			
	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	12.11	1.512	
Parent Monitoring	-.205	.077	-.168
Child Delinquent Behavior	.033	.087	.025
Community Cohesion	-.069 **	.039	-.115
Neighborhood Activities	-.044 *	.026	-.106
Social Disadvantage	.032 *	.019	.107
Police Presence	-.001 **	.001	-.219
Gang Presence	.053 **	.013	.203
Notes: N = 251; R^2= .070 *** * p <.10 ** p<.05 *** p <.01 **** p < .001			

The map below, Map 1.5, provides a visualization of the location of the families who were interviewed in the survey.

Map 1.5 Families First Family Location
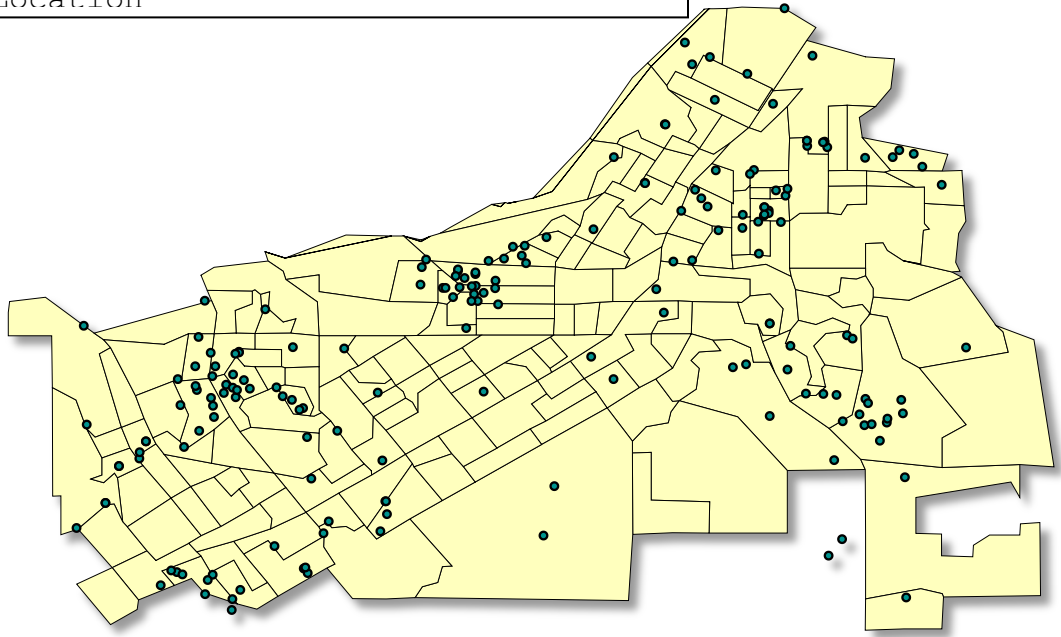
H3b: Individuals perception of safety are increased within neighborhoods lacking economic opportunity but having the presence of illicit drug markets

Table 1.9.*Regression of Perception of Safety and Presence of Drug Markets*			
	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	11.843	1.505	
Parent Monitoring	-.203 **	.077	-.167
Child Delinquent Behavior	.030	.087	.022
Community Cohesion	-.065 *	.039	-.108
Neighborhood Activities	-.040	.026	-.096
Social Deprivation	.032	.020	.106
Police Presence	-.001 *	.000	-.019
Drug Markets	.011	.010	.085
Notes: N = 251; R^2= .064 ***			
* p <.10 ** p<.05 *** p <.01 **** p < .001			

In the table above I took out gang presence to examine the role of drug markets within neighborhoods. The analysis did not support the hypothesis. Drug markets played no role in individual feelings of safety. As in the table above, Table 1.9, there was a negative correlation between community cohesion, police presence, and feelings of public safety.

The additional factor that played a role in the reduction of individual feelings of public safety was parent monitoring their children. This made sense for the reasons mentioned above that people engaged in their community

represent "eyes on the street" (Jacob 2002), and therefore have a clearer understanding of what is happening in their neighborhood.

Weaknesses of this Analysis

These analyses have been very fruitful; however, I would be remiss in not discussing their weaknesses. First, the data received for this analysis represent a cross section of information collected within a two-year time span of one another. Although this data has been superb at providing multiple domains across different levels of aggregation, it can only provide us corollary relationships. Thus causality comes into question, and at best these data are a snapshot of what could be a moving picture.

Unfortunately, individual survey, local business, census, and crime data are rarely collected over time in a single place. Such analysis would require at least two or more time points and various levels of statistical interpolation, which could give rise to increasing the possibility for error in the interpretation. However,

The second issue with the data would be the individual perception of neighborhood and the census block used as the unit of analysis. Much work has been done examining individual perception of community and showing that administrative units are not sufficient to address community.

The challenge with this critique is disaggregating administrative units into smaller spatial polygons that would be meaningful at the individual level. Such disaggregation can be done by overlaying a grid; applying parcel data; and disaggregating population data across housing units. This method would then evenly distribute the census and business data across the geographic space. However, this paper has clearly shown that crime, people, business, and so on are not evenly distributed across space. So, such a statistical technique would falsely inflate the findings; present an error in findings; and be counterintuitive regarding the empirical questions of this paper.

Finally, this paper has manufactured individual perception of society based on scales from a survey. In hindsight, a better multi-method approach would be to oversee a community survey that would attain this information as well as engage in ethnography of gangs within the community. However, such work could not be done with the time and resources that I had for this project.

Discussion

Theories of social disorganization and collective efficacy show that neighborhood structural, economic, and social conditions give way to social relations that encourage criminal and violent behavior. In this paper, I have argued that in order for those social relations to result in a decrease in organization or efficacy that some other *a priori* criteria must be met.

First, those individuals within the neighborhood must first perceive the behavior, and perceive that activity to be abnormal. To therefore understand collective efficacy, we must understand how efficacy is understood within particular neighborhoods. Researchers must also account for how individuals interrupt a threat to their community. These perceptions change within the context of the neighborhood which can vary based on many factors to include ethnicity, income, resources, and culture. In this paper I have showed that that the presence of a criminal group, such as a gang, does not necessary correlate with individual's perceiving a threat. Future research should measure both objective community factors related to crime, as well as how the individuals within that neighborhood experience these factors.

Second, other factors which contributed to crime were created as part of the built environment. Specifically, the concentration of alcohol outlets was highly correlated with gang presence, violent crimes, and drug sales. The connection between alcohol outlets and violence has been found in earlier literature (Parker 1998). Often alcohol outlets, as small businesses, are considered as sources of revenue for a city. This revenue needs to be considered in light of the cost of violent crime which tends to follow. It is also problematic putting these outlets in neighborhoods suffering from a host of other social problems, as it is clear that the presence of the outlets has a strong impact on other crimes.

There has been little research done examining the link between alcohol outlets and drug sales. It could be the case, as Stark has asserted (1987), that alcohol outlets provide a place for individuals to gather and engage in illicit activities. Additionally, alcohol outlets, like some tobacco or "head" shops, could provide the environment to promote illicit sales of drugs by the shop owners themselves or local drug dealers, dealing in the parking lot. Future research, particularly in urban planning, should consider the placement and enforcement of

establishments selling alcohol and possibly drugs.

Additionally, policies which prohibit the selling of drug

paraphernalia, or items used to construct drug

paraphernalia, should be considered as a strategy in

reducing drug sales.

The next item that needs to be considered linking

neighborhood context to crime would be the presence of

informal groups engaging in social control within those

neighborhoods. As seen by the current analysis, gang

presence constituted a negative correlation with non-gang

violence. That is, that gangs within these neighborhoods

have influence over violence and some drug trade occurring.

It is often the case that resources at the federal, state,

and local level are spent on enforcement and suppression

strategies in addressing the nexus between gang violence,

illicit firearms, and open air drug markets. These

initiatives do not take into account the relationship

between the gang and the community. Gangs are seen as an

occupying force in the community, however, in many cases

the gangs is part of the community(Patillo-McCoy 2000).

Gang members have family members and friends in the

neighborhood. Often the gang members are engaged in both

legal activities such as holding a job and illicit

activities such as selling drugs to supplement their income.

In many instances, the gang is the response to social disorganization. In places like Chicago, Rio de Janeiro, Los Angeles, and El Salvador, gangs have long histories often connected to social movements of the 1960's and have cultures, histories, norms, beliefs, and systems of initiation and retirement (Hagerdorn 2009). In the fifty years gang have become, for lack of a better word, community institutions. Individuals within the community understand that the gangs engage in illicit behavior, but because the gang contributes to the community, individuals in the gangs are more than just gang members – they're workers, family members, friends, parents, etc…community members may feel that they have to put up with but try their best not to be affected by their illegal and violent acts. Thus, effective intervention and prevention programs will have to focus on replacing the social and economic roles the gang plays before trying to remove the gang from the community.

Additionally, billions of dollars have been spent on programs to reduce gang violence. These programs include deterrence/suppression, comprehensive community programs,

and individual based programs. The results on deterrence and suppression strategies find short-term gains with long term re-escalation of crime and violence (Howell 1998). Additionally, suppression strategies have been found to reduce law enforcement legitimacy and create more problems between the community and law enforcement (Kennedy 2008).

Comprehensive community strategies would include programs like the Comprehensive Gang Model. This model is one of the longest running comprehensive community strategies which have evolved from the Little Villages project in Chicago. The model combines community mobilization, providing opportunities, social intervention, and suppression to reduce gang membership, crime, and violence. The six site evaluation of the model had mixed results (Spergel, Wa, & Sosa, 2004). Additionally, the strategy effectively reduced gang violence in three sites and drug related offences in two sites. The problem is that the sites did not uniformly provide services and resources; each site implemented the strategy differently. Thus, trying to evaluate the effectiveness of this model would be difficult as there was no program fidelity. Yet, OJJDP has evolved the program into several iterations to include the Rural Gang Initiative, Gang Free Schools and

Communities Initiative, and the Gang Reduction Program. It

is further highlighted as their flagship initiative on

reducing gang activity.

A similar comprehensive community model is the Chicago

Ceasefire model. This model of intervention tries to

reduce retaliatory gang violence. Ceasefire uses

prevention, intervention, and community mobilization to

reduce gang related violence. One of the features of this

model is the violence interrupters who build a rapport with

gang leaders, gang members, and at risk youth. These

interrupters attempt to negotiate peace in the streets by

steering people away from retaliatory violence; or violence

that might be sparked through issues of rival gang member

walking or dealing in another gang's territory. This is

also known as violating the "street rules". The evaluation

of Chicago Ceasefire found that in four of the seven

community's gang related violence was reduced (Skogan et al

2009).

The main problem with comprehensive community

intervention is in the evaluation of the program. An

effective evaluation cannot control for all the factors

involved that could influence community level violence.

Additionally, violence measured through homicide or

aggravated assault may not be the only outcome measure that criminologists might want to consider. Other outcome measures that criminologist might want to consider might be around feelings of community safety such as allowing children to play unsupervised; law enforcement legitimacy; feeling safe walking on the streets at night; and business owners concerns of security. These subjective feelings of safety, trust in formal organizations, and willingness to be in the public spaces are just as legitimate as various measures of crime.

Again, in these comprehensive community models there is little understanding of the individual perception of crime. There is further little understanding of the type, culture, or structural hierarchy of the local gang. Which begs the question, "Would the gang members attempt to negotiate street rules, treaties, and sanction members based on the level of social control they had?" In addition, people's perception of safety and ability to engage in social change might be driving positively or negatively by the presence of gangs. Thus, in measuring the impact of such intervention and prevention models it must take these factors into account. This is also true

for researcher trying to establish levels of social disorganization and collective efficacy.

In short, these theories have provided us insight to factors of social ecology that lead to a myriad of crime and delinquency. However, these theories do not answer, and are sometimes lacking, in their explanations of criminal behavior. Further, models of intervention, prevention, and deterrence have been scaffold upon these theories. These models also contain the weaknesses inherent to the theory and therefore do not always glean positive outcomes. In fact, in some instances, these models have had no effect or inverse effects (Wilson et al 2009). Thus, it is necessary for criminologists to go back to the preverbal drawing board and rethink these theories in light of other factors which have been brought to light over the past decade such as culture, social and economic capital among poor, built environment, and individual perceptions of public safety. Having a better understanding of the interaction between people and space should provide not only for more fruitful theory, but a model of programs that are more effective at building community efficacy and reducing crime.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have laid out theories of social disorganization and collective efficacy. Further, I have discussed the many critiques to these theories, and have attempted to improve upon these theories by incorporating these criticisms.

The findings in this dissertation show that when these critiques are controlled for in the model, traditional factors lose impact. Further, it is these factors which need to be accounted for in current initiatives, and policies of around crime and delinquency.

Clearly, more basic research is needed in the area of social ecology and criminal behavior which takes into account these critiques. This research should focus on the interaction between individual perception of social space and factors occurring within that space. Additionally, more thought needs to be put into urban and community planning to address the role of deviant spaces, and informal groups within the social space.

Currently, the United States has accumulated a national debit and in trying to address this debt Congress and the Office of the President is cutting domestic budgets. Many of the federal programs that are being cut

are ones that have shown to directly or indirectly reduce

risk factors and increase protective factors which cause

youth to engage in delinquency; join gangs; strengthen

community; and collect better data.

In part, the reason for these cuts is the failure of

researchers to translate their work into usable tools for

policy makers and practitioners. The inability to do this

has caused programs to be built which do not contain

theoretical underpinnings, collect quality data, where

evaluation is done in hindsight, and is shoddy. Hence, we

cannot explain why crime dropped in the late 1990's; by all

demographic measures it should be going up; or if there

were certain policies and programs that contributed to the

reduction of crime and violence.

Criminological theories, and specifically theories of

social disorganization, need to expand their focus to

include the built environment, community culture, and

informal agents and other issues that might contribute to

crime. Further, theories that currently add these other

factors need to be systematically and rigorously tested.

If the theories, or elements within the theories, are

supported by the analysis then that theory needs to be kept

and improve upon. If not the theory needs to be discarded.

It is necessary for criminologists to continue produce

knowledge that would test and improve upon these theories,

and translate their findings to usable information for the

practitioner community…and not simply continue to respond

to the crisis du jour.

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